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but when they made a feast the Naivi people took no part, but went to plant, leaving Vatuwangga to make the oven; for the Naivi people were zealous planters, and despised state ceremonial (*ka vaka vunua*). Therefore Tione Wesele decided they should be split up; for Tione Wesele looked after the feasts, and would give instructions for feasts to all the people." Thus Naivi were compelled to work for feasts having no one to whom to shift the duty. Thus these four subdivisions are, for practical purposes, clans; but constituting the nobility, they are proud of their common origin, and insist that they are not clans, but branches of one family. These statements show that the natives can apparently contradict themselves, yet be perfectly truthful.

Naivi is descended from the eldest son of Niumataiwalu and his wife Tarau; Matailakemba and Vatuwangga from two sons of the second son of Niu and Tarau; Koroithumu, from a younger son of Niu by Uma, a lady of Nukunuku. Inside Naivi, the descendants of Ndranivia seem on the way to form a new clan, for they live apart from the rest of the clan, sometimes act apart, and call themselves Nanggorokoto.

Though descendants of the eldest son, Naivi come after Matailakemba and Vatuwangga. At the Lands Enquiry there was some discussion as to who should come first. Then the leaders of Vatuwangga and of Matailakemba abused those of Naivi, calling them "descendants of the slain," "bodies for the oven" (*mbakola*), because Naivi was defeated and butchered long ago by Matailakemba and Vatuwangga combined.

Matailakemba is a small clan. Vatuwangga and Naivi are very large and hang very much together. Koroithumu seemed to me insignificant.

Katumbalevu proper are "the natives," a clan almost extinct: of the two sides, Mauthori and Vuanimoli, only Mauthori, descended through females, survives. The name Katumbalevu is seldom used except of this small group.

Tonga is purely a creation of the Lands Commission, though the term has passed into use. Formerly the Tongans were *vulangi* (stranger or guest) each attached to one or other of the clans; they were members of the various noblemen's households.

Vale Lailai is divided into: Tandravula, Natokatoka, Narewandamu. Natokatoka is again subdivided into upper and lower.

Tandravula is extinct and of Natokatoka only women survive. Emosi declares that Narewandamu, to which he belongs, is not a clan but an "edge of the oven," but usually it is spoken of as a clan.

One informant used Katumbalevu in a wide sense as pertaining to all

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Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green.

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's.

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home.

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven together. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his own house they appear to be overlooked.

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in

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The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tauvu*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Mualeva are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Niumataiwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 57).

The word *vulangi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

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Lakemba; and the Lord of the Green of Waitambu will not sit at the head in a gathering of all Lakemba, but is only Lord of the Green when it is an assembly of Navuaira only.

The feast is usually collected together from the various villages and clans outside the house of some nobleman, at the present day the District Chief. The notabilities of Tumbou, Tuimereke, Malani, Tui Tumbou, and the rest, together with the village headmen assemble in the house and drink kava. It is the duty of the Lord of the Green of Waitambu to sit by the food and drive away the dogs; formerly he took a big piece for himself, but now the people object. When the feast is complete the quantities are counted. Then the feast is taken over to Great House and heaped up; and either Lord of the Green sitting beside the heap will proclaim the quantities, "The feast, sir, is ready. One hundred coconuts; three hundred taro; forty packets of pudding; thirty large parcels of fish, and that is all" (*ka oooti le*). As usual the last syllable but one in every sentence is long drawn out.

The chiefs inside the house answer, "Good, good. Live, live."

If it is a death feast (*i mburua*) the High Chief then comes out to hold a Tongan state kava in the open. One share is immediately taken to Great House, including the head half of a pig.[14] The two Lords of the Green divide up the feast while the herald looks on. A Fijian feast is divided according to villages if several villages are present; according to clans, if the feast is confined to the village. In a Lakemban feast Tumbou gets two shares: one for the nobles, which is not proclaimed for that is forbidden, is merely covered with leaves; the other share is proclaimed "Tumbou" and it is for the Land (Thekena and Tanggalevu). The other shares are touched in the same way and the names of the villages or clans called out. The head of the pig goes to Levuka because they are seamen (*kaiwai*). The herald says it formerly went to Tumbou proper. The nobles get the back of the pig.

If the feast is in Tongan style, as death-feasts are, it is divided among individuals, and only those who brought presents (*i yau*) at the death receive a portion. In Tonga a stranger gets nothing. In Fiji he is pitied, and a share is always arranged for any visitor. At King Edward's death feasts no presents, of course, could be brought to the house of mourning, so the feast was divided among all the villages, as many shares to each as it had clans; and also portions were given to guests from Tongatabu, to those from Vavau, and to those from Haapai, to the Headmaster, to the Assistant Master, to the school boys, to the gaolers. The shares brought home are called *yatho ni mangiti*.

It is the duty of Vakano and Waitambu to sweep away the rubbish.

[14] I am not quite certain whether this procedure comes in here or after the feast has been collected outside the District Chief's house. I think the above is right.

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things to do, and was very busy with his yam gardens.

"And Ligadua waited and waited for his feast, and his wrath kept on rising and rising, till one day he resolved to teach Tui Matokano a lesson. And so it came about in this way. The people were all sitting on the *rara* (village green), resting in the twilight after their labour of the day, when suddenly there appeared from out of the grove of bread-fruit trees a young man, a stranger. His eyes flashed fire with anger, and he walked boldly and upright, not as one would expect an unarmed person to walk into a strange town. Not a word did he speak, but strode across to the great new drum that stood outside Tui Matokano's house. Then he laid one hand on it and grasped the edge, and looked straight at Tui Matokano. And Tui Matokano looked and saw that the other arm was missing; and his spirit became heavy and he bowed his head in fear, for he knew that it was Ligadua. Then Ligadua looked round once at the silent people, and with a loud laugh he flew off through the air; and as he flew they saw the faint shadow of the great drum of Kabara grasped in his hand.

"And when their courage returned they looked round again, but the drum was still standing there and nothing seemed to have moved. So Tui Matokano shook himself, and said, '*Sobu*,